"WHITTAKER CHAMBERS: WITNESS"

JOHN COGLEY

the

Commonweal

JOHN H. HALLOWELL

MEANING OF MAJORITY RULE

JOHN C. CORT

THE CHURCH AND STEEL

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL
GREGORY ZILBOORG
JAMES M. O'NEILL

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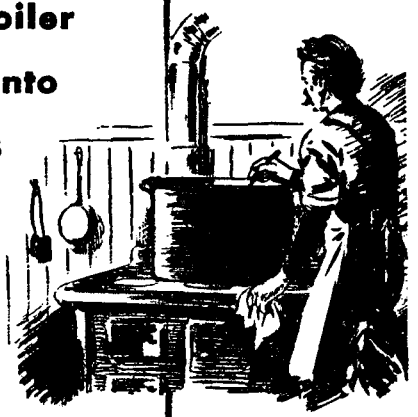
The Washboiler that Grew Into the World's Leading Church Candle Factory...



NINETY-SIX YEARS AGO, young Anton Will and his wife, Rosina, put some beeswax, some candlemaking knowledge and a lot of hope into a washboiler on the kitchen stove. That, in a 10 by 10 kitchen, on a modest side street of Syracuse, N. Y., was the start of the world's leading church-candle factory.

Patiently, Anton and Rosina dipped braided cotton wicks into the melted wax; drew them out to harden, and dipped them over and over again. When the wicks were coated to proper size, they rolled the wax into graceful candles. Candles of pure beeswax. Catholic churches bought them eagerly. Anton and Rosina became the pioneer church candlemakers in America.

Debt, Death and a Widow's Might

Came the day when reputation of the small concern reached New York City. A large buyer there sent an order for a thousand pounds of candles. Anton didn't have all the money to buy that much beeswax. A Syracuse friend came to the rescue and lent him the money.

Then Anton died. Rosina alone, with three small boys to support, carried on. Before long, the boys were busy dipping wicks. And today two of the sons of those boys are officers in the company which ships beeswax products by the millions . . . imports crude beeswax from all continents.

All crude beeswax is tested first by the laboratory . . . graded for various uses, refined, purified and bleached snow-white under the sun. Only the finest, whitest and purest of the refined bleached beeswax is used for the church candles that gave the company its start and its reputation.

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Contributing Editors:
PHILIP BURNHAM, ANNE FREMANTLE

JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

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THE
Commonweal
week by week

THE STATE OF LIBERALISM

IT is ironical that the word "liberal," which was originally applied to free-wheeling individualism in matters social, economic and political, should now connote almost the very opposite. The modern American liberal has little in common with his namesake of the Manchester school. Today's liberals are vigorously anti-rugged individualism. They are strong believers in such measures as a nation-wide FEPC law, limited profit, social security, unemployment compensation, national health services and the like.

Liberals accept the New Deal reforms in large measure and do so with enthusiasm. They are devoted to expanding rather than limiting the Roosevelt revolution. In a given dispute the liberal is likely to be lined up with the Democratic Party as opposed to the Republicans; with the labor unions as opposed to Wall Street and the bitter guardians of Free Enterprise; with the internationalists as opposed to those rugged individualists of the political order, the die-hard isolationists; and finally, with centrist forces as opposed to latter-day states-righters who attribute most of the nation's woes to the fact that everything has been taken over by Washington.

Seldom, even in the unpredictable world of semantics, has there been such a complete about-face as that suffered by the word "liberal." If words and their meanings always remained static, the term would belong eminently to Ben Fairless, Robert A. Taft, Herbert Hoover, Colonel McCormick, the American Medical Association, Governor Jimmy Byrnes—each of whom in some way is a shining example of individualism applied to the social, economic and political orders. But words *do* change. Liberalism today is a quite different cup of tea from what it was in Adam Smith's time.

The important note of contemporary liberalism is that, at least according to the old meaning of the word, it is so very un-liberal. It puts great and proper stress on the interdependence of individual men, classes, societies and nations.

The earlier individualist "liberalism" evolved from many sources. It was to some degree a translation in economic terms of Calvinist theology. Later it seemed to many of its adherents to be a logical application of Darwin's "survival of the fittest" laws, an application of the universal biological pattern to economics and the social order. But what we now call liberalism can be traced not to a theological or biological reference—rather to a political phenomenon: the rise of modern socialism.

It was not the Church or the natural order which embodied the modern liberal ideal but those ambiguous political experiments where all that the neo-liberal believed in and sorely missed in capitalist society seemed to be getting proper emphasis: the exaltation of the communal (as opposed to the ruggedness of classic individualism), the legal protection of the weak and deposing of the grasping and powerful, and the extension of economic benefits to the lowliest levels of society, to name a few. Prime among these political experiments, of course, was the Soviet Union.

IT seems incredible now that for more than two decades the Soviet represented to many American liberals (who would be horrified by the brute claims of Marxian philosophy if they could ever have brought themselves to face up to them) the foremost example of a political society's making the attempt, in a hostile world, to put the ideals of contemporary liberalism into practice. But such was the case. Until very recently in American liberal circles there was an undeniable emotional bias in favor of the Soviet. The burden of it—the spiritual impoverishment and philosophical flabbiness necessary to account for such an attitude—will long hang like a bad conscience over American liberalism. Admittedly, among those who will exploit it many (enemies themselves of every fine and decent thing liberalism stands for) have no right to play at being holier than thou. But that in itself does not dispel the liberal's burden. It should not keep him from reassessing the philosophy that made such moral ambiguity not only acceptable but even fashionable.

American liberalism is at a turning point. It is facing its gravest moral crisis, possibly the sur-

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vival of all the fine things it has so far accomplished. Among its tenets liberalism still holds sacred many of the principles by which societies survive—care and concern for the least members, affirmation of the common bond and the political role of the individual conscience, for example. But if he is to keep the faith he lives by—all that is good and necessary in that wondrous American amalgam called liberalism—the liberal must relate it to a larger and more dependable context than political pragmatism. Recent history should have shown that clearly.

Even the most burning political idealism can easily be turned into power politics unless it is related to the soundest, most fundamental of human loyalties. Admittedly, American liberalism has given expression to many of the lasting aspirations of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. But at times—in the general murky atmosphere of moral relativism, pragmatism and errant secularism—this has seemed to be almost coincidence. The things that liberalism at its best has stood for are solidly rooted in our religious heritage. How long can the fruit flourish after it is separated from the tree? "For one sweet grape who would the vine destroy?"

THE WILD BLUE NO LONGER

IF older men with family responsibilities account for most of the recent refusals to fly among Air Force personnel, further research shows that younger Americans are also losing their urge to take to the air. Neither West Point nor Annapolis has been able to supply its annual quota of airmen of late, while the long line of applicants for the Air Force has dwindled to a handful. Adequate manpower has been maintained only by lowering physical and educational requirements.

For all this Hanson W. Baldwin of the New York *Times* adduces a number of reasons. He cites the increasingly intricate panels on the latest planes, the better-known, rugged character of combat flight, the greater inducements and security of civilian pursuits. Present political confusions appear less conducive to youthful idealism than the urge to self sacrifice aroused during World War II.

To most Americans flying suggests commercial airlines, a convenient but unspectacular means of getting places. Taking to the air is by now a routine matter. The novelty and the glamor are gone. A fighter pilot is hardly more than any other soldier constrained to an onerous duty. There is a certain progress here, however. For the deglamorizing of the combat flier takes from modern war its last power to attract.

LABOR LEGISLATION

IN the long run, legislation stemming from the crisis in steel could easily inflict more lasting damage than a strike. Measures conceived in haste and passed under pressure are rarely sound, and many of the labor bills thrown into the Congressional hopper in the last few weeks appear to be specifics worse than the complaint which provoked them.

One such measure is the Smith bill which was introduced during the height of the steel crisis. This proposed legislation would give Congress as well as the President power to obtain anti-strike injunctions in disputes which are thought to endanger national defense. If the parties concerned failed to reach an agreement during the eighty-day no-strike period, the court would then appoint a receivership to insure continued production, with wages frozen.

As written, the bill is obviously, if unconsciously, partisan. One side is seriously handicapped, while the other is hardly inconvenienced. The measure provides management with no inducement to engage in real collective bargaining, since with profits untouched and wages frozen the employer could easily benefit more from receivership than he would from honest negotiation.

It is a serious mistake to think that harmony in labor-management relations can be secured by injunction. Like the Taft-Hartley law, this particular measure can probably be improved by amendment, but no amendment can alter the fact that the basic approach to unionism displayed in such measures is a grudging, reluctant one. Legislation conceived in this spirit will never produce more than a straitjacket kind of industrial peace.

NEXT WEEK

HOWARD SNYDER, SR., tells how farming has changed in the American South in the last forty years.

"After the cotton was picked sometime in November, the tenant was free to sit by his fireplace, dip snuff, make and drink moonshine, hunt possums and rabbits and otherwise 'frolic' until March first when his whole farming schedule started over again. . . . Today our whole South is rapidly becoming a big cow pasture. In parts of Florida you can see as many tall hats, cowboys, chaps, lariats and cow ponies as in Montana or Wyoming. The big-headed, little-hipped, runty cow of forty years ago has passed into history."

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THE TASK OF FLOOD CONTROL

WITH Mr. Truman's special survey commission and the local Missouri Basin Inter-Agency Committee trading blows about responsibilities for the big flood, a recapitulation is in order. Up to now the history of the far-flung Missouri Valley has largely been one unbroken story of every man for himself. That has long been characteristic of frontiers.

When the men who settled that part of the West cleared the moisture-retaining forests and lush grasslands, the trouble began. It became accentuated after the turn of the century when the people of the area went in for one-crop cultivation on a large scale, overcropped the extensive grazing lands and spread their cities and suburbs—over what had once been half a million square miles of well-balanced and well-protected field and woodland.

As erosion grew and large denuded tracts became incapable of absorbing heavy rains, piecemeal attempts at controlling the Missouri watershed were perforce instituted. The upper and lower valley residents were sharply divided as to what should be done. The Federal Bureau of Reclamation, in charge of the headwaters, was after storage dams for irrigation purposes in its arid area. The Army Engineers, seeking to protect downstream cities and acreages, was bent on local flood control.

The two fought it out for a number of years only to join forces to repel the threat of a Missouri Valley Authority which had been spurred on by the outstanding record of the TVA. They threw together the compromise Pick-Sloan plan under which the Missouri Basin is still operating—if only on three cylinders because of Congress' lack of enthusiasm. The disheartening thing is that, for all that now gets into the papers, the American public would conclude that the idea of a Valley Authority has been all but abandoned. The political, rather than the practical, obstacles have loomed too great.

Yet one of the great lessons of the three hundred million dollar Missouri flood is that effective control cannot be achieved without coordination all along the line. The farmer who dynamited an up-river levee to relieve the pressure on his own sandbag earthworks farther downstream simply dramatized that need.

The first sector requiring action is the upper watershed: restoring the fertility of the soil through terracing, contour plowing, strips of thick grass and woodland and scientific lumbering—plus dams, retaining basins and ponds for the little waters. Farther downstream big dams are required for emergencies like the recent one where the ground was so hard frozen (and ponds, too) that water from the melting snows could not be held sufficiently in check upstream. Although the levees which saved a number of downstream cities contribute to the pressure above, many of them need to be retained.

It is obvious that so massive and complex an operation has to be coordinated under a single system of control. The Army Engineers claim that their scale model at Vicksburg will indicate to them what to do all along the line. It is not necessary to assay their past performance and their competence to do this in the interest of all concerned to raise some further questions.

Coordinated flood control is only one of the elements—if the most pressing—in the harnessing of a big river valley. There are such big factors as irrigation, hydro-electric power, domestic and industrial water supplies, navigation and facilities for recreation. All this also creates new problems in such fields as public health. That, in conjunction with the justly famed TVA achievement, constitutes the case for a Missouri Valley Authority. It need be anything but a slavish copy of TVA. But river valley development for and by the whole people of an area has clearly proved its claims.

THE PRISONERS IN KOREA

THE outcome of the poll of PW's in Korea represents a triumph so significant that it should not be overlooked in the rapid pace of day-to-day events. Although this is a sore point with the Communists, the U.N. has always insisted that there be no forced repatriation of prisoners. In view of the fate of prisoners forcibly repatriated after World War II, no other honorable course was open to us, despite Communist insistence on the subject.

In an effort to break the deadlock on this issue by saving face for the Communists, U.N. negotiators came up with the idea of substituting previously unlisted PW's for those who refused to return to their Communist-dominated land. In this way the total number of PW's originally listed would have been returned, and at the same time no prisoner would have been forced to return against his will. The fiction of complete return would then have made the bitter reality of widespread defection more palatable for Communist leaders.

Prior to the poll, some reluctance to return home was expected. But the U.N. negotiators did not even guess that so many captives would refuse to return to their own country, in the face of the real threat of reprisals against their families and the great uncertainty of their own fate. Out of one hundred and seventy thousand prisoners, a full one hundred thousand have now indicated that they could be repatri-

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ated only by the use of force. Far from saving face for the Communists, the poll of the prisoners has dramatized in terms no propagandist could duplicate the striking failure of Communism to hold the loyalties of Chinese and North Koreans, once they were out of range of the secret police.

As far as any truce is concerned, the extent of PW dissatisfaction with Communism has upset the applecart, at least for the time being. But natural disappointment over the ensuing deadlock in the truce negotiations should not be allowed to obscure the fact that we have won a great moral victory. In the kind of battle in which we are engaged, this is even more a cause for rejoicing than a major triumph of our armed forces.

The defections in Korea should give us renewed hope. They indicate in a very dramatic fashion that we are on the right track. If we can continue to contain Communist armed aggression, we can look forward with increasing confidence to victory in the struggle for men's allegiance, freely given.

PARIS IN THIS SPRING

THE unhappy history of so many postwar conferences makes the contemplation of Paris in the spring of 1952 a special cause for joy and hope. Here, during May, two conferences are being held which free men everywhere can look to with great satisfaction and pride. The Congress for Cultural Freedom is holding a truly historic exposition to recognize and honor the achievements of the unregimented artist in the twentieth century. During this same month the annual *Semaine des Intellectuels Catholiques* is being held under the patronage of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. Its theme this year is "The Church and Freedom." So, by a particularly fortunate coincidence, representatives of both the humanistic and religious traditions of the West are concurrently meeting in Paris to explore that concept of human freedom which is the common heritage of both, the bond which should unite them in what must be a universal affirmation.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom has brought to Paris one of the greatest assemblies of contemporary art, artists, and thinkers that any city has ever seen. Its exposition opened with what has been reported as a tremendously moving concert in the Church of St. Roch, dedicated to all the victims of totalitarian oppression in the twentieth century, particularly to those artists and thinkers who suffered and who continue to suffer under fascistic and Communist dictatorships. The exposition is planned as a triumphant affirmation of human dignity, and the whole world is invited to look and see what the creative spirit can accomplish when it is free.

The conference of French Catholic intellectuals has met to explore the particular dynamism of freedom in the light of Christian truth. It opened with discussions of the Church, dogma, and human liberty; has proceeded through discussions on the freedom of the scientist, the artist, and the writer; and will conclude on the theme of "the liberty of the Children of God." The witness thus borne to the implications of freedom for Christians, and of the terrible necessity for understanding these implications, is one of the great contributions which French Catholic thought is making to the Church in our century.

What is happening in Paris this month is not something which is of interest only to aesthetes and philosophers. It is not a large-scale holiday for the ivory-tower boys. It is something which has great significance for all men in our time, and particularly for some of us in the United States, who are in danger of becoming so totally involved in the immediate but frequently sterile business of managing to survive through a time of crisis that we may lose sight of that which makes the struggle eminently worth the effort.

If in the struggle we lose sight of, or allow ourselves to become indifferent to, the particular dynamism of our civilization, then the future which George Orwell foresees for us in *1984* will have arrived, and the worst fears of the neutralists will have been realized. The West will have survived, but it will have bought its survival at the price of its own spirit. It will have joined in the universal murder of man. The particular dynamism of the Western spirit is the dynamism of human freedom. If this is lost in the struggle, then all is lost. There is indeed little to choose between in *1984*.

But Paris in the spring 1952 shows us that there need be no 1984, that human freedom and creativity are triumphantly alive in our culture. This is a much greater, an infinitely more hopeful thing for our future than any number of atom-bombs, anti-Communist oaths, or loyalty parades. Here are assembled the humanist and the Christian, and they invite the world to see that which gives our struggle its meaning. In the vitality of their affirmation they give the lie to the forces which predict the replacement of a dying culture by a new Marxist mass-man, as well as to those who, in order to save us from this fate, would impose on us a totalitarianism of the right.

"No one should be as hostile to the totalitarian spirit as the poet"—no one, indeed, unless it be the Christian. To Paris, for its affirmation of these truths this May, all free men should look with gratitude and renewed hope.

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The Meaning of Majority Rule

"FREEDOM" CAN LEAD TO TYRANNY AND DISASTER OR TO ORDER AND HAPPINESS, DEPENDING ON HOW IT IS CONCEIVED

JOHN H. HALLOWELL

IT is an accepted and distinguishing principle of democratic government that, as John Locke stated it, "the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest." Unanimity of judgment is never possible even if desirable, and if action is to be taken it cannot wait for unanimity. The closer the judgments of the people approximate unanimity the greater the degree of consent secured for any action or policy, but no government could ever operate upon the principle of unanimity. How then are we to conceive of rule by the majority of the people?

Does it mean, as some contend, that the will of the majority is to be regarded as sovereign, that there is no appeal from that will, that its judgment is absolute? Is the determination of the rightness or wisdom of governmental policy to be determined solely by the counting of votes? Does the principle of majority rule demand that we abandon all qualitative judgments in favor of a quantitative method?

I do not think so, and I think it is dangerous to insist that it does. If the principle of majority rule means that the will of the majority must be conceived as unlimited and absolute, then it is a principle (as the framers of our Constitution realized) that is indistinguishable from tyranny. For the essence of tyranny is unrestrained will —whether it be the will of one man, of several or of many. And the tyranny of a majority is likely to be no less cruel or unjust—indeed, may be more so—than the tyranny of an individual. How then are we to conceive of rule by the majority of the people?

WHAT is demanded by the democratic form of government is not submission to the will of the majority because that will is numerically superior but rather submission to the reasoned judgment of the majority. We are obligated to submit to the decision of the majority not because that decision represents a numerically superior will but because it represents the best judgment of society with respect to a particular matter at a particular time. It is founded not upon the principle that the will of the many should prevail over the will of the few but rather upon the principle that the judgment of the many is likely to be superior to the judgment of the few.

"For the many," Aristotle declared, "of whom each individual is but an ordinary person, when they meet together may very likely be better than the few good, if regarded not individually but collectively. . . . For each individual among the many has a share of virtue and prudence, and when they meet together they become in a manner one man, who has many feet, and hands and senses; that is a figure of their mind and disposition. Hence the many are better judges than a single man . . . for some understand one part, and some another, and among them they understand the whole."

The principle of majority rule is founded upon the belief that the widest possible popular discussion and deliberation is likely to yield wiser decisions than a discussion limited to the few. The decision recorded by majority vote may then be fairly said to represent not a portion of society but the whole people. Democracy attempts to implement the principle that government should rest upon the consent of the people by making provision for the widest possible popular deliberation and participation in the formulation of public policy. It is not the will of the people as such that should prevail but their best judgment. The majority vote does not precede deliberation but records a decision reached through deliberation.

Discussion in a democracy, moreover, is conceived as being continuous. While a majority vote is necessary in order temporarily to conclude a discussion and reach a decision with respect to a particular policy, that decision and that policy always remain open for further discussion. No decision is regarded as irrevocable. Every decision remains revocable in the sense that the minority is always free to continue the discussion and to endeavor to persuade others of the wisdom of its reasoning. The majority is not composed always of the same persons but is a fluctuating one, and in this way the possibility always remains open for the minority to become the majority through the instruments of persuasion.

Mr. Hallowell is a member of the Department of Political Science, Duke University, and the author of "Main Currents in Modern Political Thought."

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MAJORITY rule, then, presupposes widespread discussion and deliberation and presupposes that the discussion will be conducted in the most reasonable manner possible, to the end that policy may be framed in the interests of the common good. The majority vote does not precede the discussion but concludes it; it is the recording of a decision reached through deliberation and is not conceived as taking the place of deliberation.

To the extent, therefore, that the discussion is not as widespread as possible, to the extent that judgment is coerced or cajoled rather than persuaded, to the extent that the instruments of persuasion are used to obscure issues rather than to clarify them, to the extent that the participants make no effort to transcend the motivations of their private interests to contemplate the common good, to the extent that appeals are made to prejudice rather than to reason—to that extent the principle of majority rule is corrupted and debased. It is the reasoned judgment of the majority that obligates our compliance with its decision, not the will of the majority as such. To the extent, therefore, that the rule of the majority becomes more an expression of will and less an expression of reasoned judgment, to that degree does it become less democratic and more tyrannical.

The democratic process is designed to determine by popular discussion and decision the choice of the best means to achieve common ends shared by all. This is as it should be, but when the ends of social existence become themselves subject of debate it is a sign that that society is in grave danger of disintegration. Without a widespread agreement upon the ends of social existence discussion is likely to be futile.

Admittedly discussion in a democracy will never be completely rational, and private interests will always intrude themselves into any discussion of the common good. But a sound democracy will aim at achieving as rational a discussion as is humanly possible and at subordinating private interests as much as possible to a consideration of the good of all.

The faith that such self-discipline is possible makes democracy preferable to other political forms that would restrict government to the few. If such self-discipline is not possible then democracy is an impossibility. In the final analysis democracy is based, as John Middleton Murry has said, "not only in theory but in fact upon the reality of a universal obligation to obey the moral law. If that obligation is not recognized, and acted on, democracy must, in time of real stress, collapse. If the validity of the moral law is an illusion, so is the validity of democracy."

But if we recognize the real necessity for individuals in a democracy to strive to bring their thoughts and actions under the guidance of the moral law, we must not overlook the fact that the inherent defect of the human will will always to some extent thwart that endeavor. We must keep a balance between an excessive optimism about the motives of men and an excessive pessimism about their potentialities. Reinhold Niebuhr suggests that it is "man's capacity for justice" which "makes democracy possible," and "man's inclination to injustice" which "makes democracy necessary."

THE solution to the problem of self-interest is so to divide power that the selfishness of one group will check the selfishness of another. In this way no one group, minority or majority, will have sufficient power to tyrannize the rest. The principle of the separation of powers with its attendant system of checks and balances, the principle of federalism with the division of power upon a geographical basis, were all designed by the framers of our Constitution to preserve liberty by making the concentration of political power in the hands of a few or of many a difficult, if not impossible, undertaking.

To this extent those who wrote the Constitution realized that man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary and that the widespread diffusion of political power is essential if that power is not to be abused. At the same time they realized that government exists to promote justice—in the words of John Adams "to compel all to respect the common right, the public good, the universal law, in preference to all private and partial considerations." It is this capacity of men to respect the common right, the public good and the universal law, though they often need the compulsion of law to implement that respect, that makes democracy possible.

Under the influence of liberalism many people undoubtedly developed too sanguine a view of the natural impulse of men to do good and consequently were plunged into despair when the liberal view of man was proved by the force of historical events to be too optimistic. In reaction to that excessively optimistic view of man many now proclaim that the only reality in politics is power and the self-interest of individuals and of nations. Many not only underestimate the power of moral ideals but deny that moral ideals have any other role to play than that of rationalizing our private and selfish interests.

This view, however, may prove as devastating in its effects as was the liberal optimism from which it is the reaction. A view of man that regards him as totally depraved is as one-sided and distorted as is the view which regards him as completely well-intentioned. A balanced view of man will emphasize both his propensity to do evil and his capacity to do good; it will not overestimate his motives but it will not underestimate his potentialities. Recognition of the sinfulness of human nature was never intended to paralyze man's capacity for intelligent thought and moral action but

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rather to liberate that capacity in the service of God rather than of self.

A balanced view of man will recognize the necessity for institutional checks upon the abuse of power, the necessity for law and coercion to restrain men from evil actions, but it will also understand that man is naturally attracted to the good and it will seek to foster and develop this natural capacity. A balanced view of man will save us from the illusion that we can establish a political or social system which is perfect or make a reform which is final, but it will not despair of man's capacity for justice and it will appeal to that capacity in seeking social change.

THE degradation of man is amply attested to by the events of our time; while we must be realistic in identifying as the source of that degradation the defective will of man himself, we require no lessons in despair. We know full well the depths to which men can sink. What we need to remind ourselves of are the heights to which men may climb.

The belief that men could climb to those heights alone and unassisted, which was fostered by liberalism and the philosophy of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, has now been shattered by the force of historical events. And many men as a consequence have been plunged into cynical despair. But we need not disparage the attractiveness of the heights nor despair of men's approaching them if we remind ourselves of something the Age of Enlightenment forgot—that man is not an autonomous being but the creature of God. Man's moral weakness is his own but his moral strength is born of the love of God. What the modern world has almost forgotten is the reality of spirit and its power, but history shows that it is the power of spirit that ultimately triumphs over material power, however great or formidable.

Democracy rests upon a faith in man as a rational, moral and spiritual creature. It is as much aspiration as it is fact. The ideals of democracy never have and never will be achieved with perfection; they are goals constantly to be striven for but never perfectly realized.

Whether men's freedom in a democracy will be used to promote a just social order, in which the moral and spiritual potentialities of all men equally will be encouraged to grow, or whether it will degenerate into license and anarchy, depends upon how each citizen in a democracy conceives and uses it. Freedom is not an end in itself but a means to more ultimate ends. Conceived as the opportunity to do what one wants and used in the service of self, freedom leads to personal unhappiness, social disorder and eventually to tyranny. Conceived as the opportunity to do what is right and used in the service of God and one's fellowmen it leads to personal happiness and social order.

The Church and the Steel Crisis

PRIVATE property is a beautiful thing. Any man who ever set his eyes on a likely place and dreamed of making it his own will know what I mean. The emotions aroused are something like the sweet agonies of young love.

The instinct runs deep in the nature of man. Every parent has been amazed, and shocked, at the speed with which a small baby can develop the passion for private property, to the extent of resenting—bitterly—any attempt by a hungrier brother or sister to borrow a discarded, gummed-over and thoroughly discredited piece of toast.

The Church in her wisdom recognizes this instinct and the value of it when it has been broken to the yoke of the common good.

But when Clarence B. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Company, stands up in front of the television cameras and with righteous indignation blasts the President of the United States because "he has seized the steel plants of the nation, the private property of one million people," then I think one has a duty to point out that the "private property" he talks about is not the same thing as the rose-covered cottage on the hill that Everyman dreams of calling home. It is not even the same thing as a small family business producing rubber bands or buttons.

I WAS browsing today in a book called *Man and Society (Appleton, Century, $4.50)* and ran across something that fits in here. This book is actually the second edition of an old book which has now been thoroughly rewritten and brought up to date. The author is the Most Rev. Francis J. Haas, Bishop of Grand Rapids, formerly rector of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, later dean of the School of Social Science of Catholic University and still later, I believe, chairman of the Federal Mediation Board and a public member of the War Labor Board. Bishop Haas is a wise, kindly man who looks rather like Hollywood's idea of what a Bishop should look like. Unlike Hollywood's idea, he also packs a punch.

The Bishop points out that as of 1947 four companies owned 54.5% of the primary steel industry's net capital assets, which the New York *Times* for April 9 tells us originally cost seven billion dollars and are

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presently valued at twenty billion. In another place he tells how in this industry "U. S. Steel has been called the 'bell-wether,' for the reason that when it sets its prices for steel, other producers follow."

The Bishop then quotes a proposal which he describes as "timid" and "mild," made by George Whiting Baker fifty years ago in another book called *Monopolies and the People,* namely, "the placing upon the Board of Directors of every such [monopolistic] corporation one or more men to represent the people and to see that the affairs of the company are conducted in the public interest as well as in the interest of the stockholders."

Baker, as approvingly quoted by the Bishop, then continues: "It will doubtless be said that such a proposition would be an unwarranted interference by the Government with private business. The weak point in this argument, however, is that these great and powerful trusts are not 'private business' at all. . . . When a great combination of capital obtains control of some necessity of life or of comfort and gives the people a choice of buying at the price it sets or going without—then its character as a private business has disappeared. Its administration is a matter of grave public concern, and the Government is eminently justified in taking part in that administration."

THE manner of President Truman's seizure, and the legal grounds for it, may well be subject to question. As the steel companies have been reminding us almost daily in full-page ads, we do not want a government of men, but a government of laws. Things should be done according to protocol, preferably by act of Congress, not by the fiat of one man operating on a vague conviction as to his "inherent powers."

But there is no question as to the moral right of the federal government to effect a temporary seizure of a key industry when the evidence is overwhelming that the common good is threatened. As a matter of fact, the government has been running the railroads for over a year, with the tacit blessing of management and over the violent opposition of the railroad unions.

The social doctrine of the Catholic Church, as distilled by Bishop Haas, makes this point clear. In another chapter of his excellent book, he sets out several postulates about the nature of private property "based on the doctrines of (Popes) Leo XIII and Pius XI." The first goes as follows:

"There is no absolute right of property. A property-holder is not free to exercise his property rights in disregard of the interests of the community. Property ownership is a moral right, and as such is subject to the provisions of the moral law. The moral law both protects the property owner and imposes certain obligations on him: it binds others in conscience to refrain from taking or using his goods against his will; and it forbids him to use his goods to the harm of the community."

A little later the Bishop quotes Pius XI directly, from the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno:* "It follows from what we have termed the individual and at the same time social character of ownership, that men must consider in this matter not only their own advantage but also the common good. *To define these duties in detail when necessity requires and the natural law has not done so, is the function of those in charge of the State"* (italics added).

Those in charge of our state would seem to be the President, Congress and the Supreme Court, and I think it is clear that they have the right to go even further than the President has done in the steel case to define the duties of large corporate enterprise in the U. S., especially that which has a monopolistic, or price-fixing, aspect.

THIS quote from Pius XI on property is, in a real sense, the core of Catholic social doctrine. From it flow many other features of the Church's teaching, such as the strong support of union organization and the development of a system of industrial democracy to match our political organization.

It is an irony of history that whereas since the Middle Ages the political organization of Western civilization has gone forward from the adolescence of monarchy to the maturity of parliamentary government, economic organization has slipped backward from the full development of the guild system to the brutal anarchy of the nineteenth century and the slightly more refined jungle warfare of the twentieth.

As Pius XI brought out in *Quadragesimo Anno,* because of the "near extinction of that rich social life which was once highly developed through associations of various kinds, there remain virtually only individuals and the state." And Bishop Haas adds, "In fact, in the United States very little stands as a barrier of protection for the individual between himself and government."

It was to fill this yawning void between the individual and government that such Church leaders as Pius XI, Bishop Haas and others have proclaimed the need for labor organizations to match those of the employers, and further a system of "Industry Councils" that would take over the business of economic regulation which, as the Bishop says, "clearly lie(s) outside the direct scope of government."

Here we have the principle of subsidiarity, which is another keystone in the arch of Catholic social doctrine: namely, that no function of social life should be performed by a higher organ of society which can be efficiently taken care of by a lower one, i.e., one nearer to the individual. Pope Pius XI wrote, "[It is] an injus-

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tice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do."

It is here—here and in the defense of the legitimate rights of private property—that the common sense of the Church is most evident. And it is here that the Church differs sharply from Marxism. The Church recognizes that property is power and that the control of power should be distributed as widely as possible since, as Lord Acton has put it in his justly famous aphorism, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." It is in the economic sphere, in short, that we must lay the basis for that permanent balancing of powers that alone can protect, for the long haul, our civil liberties of speech, press and religion.

Bishop Haas defines an Industry Council as follows: "a public body, intermediate between government and private enterprise, made up of the democratically chosen representatives of employers and workers in a given industry, who, guided, but not dictated to, by government officials, are empowered to fix wages, hours, working conditions, and prices for their industry and, in cooperation with similarly constituted bodies from other occupations, for the entire economy of the nation."

"Industry Council" is a relatively new term in the writings of Church authorities. They used to call it "vocational group," "occupational group," "order" and similar vague and unwieldy terms. Several years ago the American Bishops, in one of their annual statements, came out for the term "Industry Council." Although Bishop Haas doesn't mention it, I think it is significant that the only large American industrial organization that has adopted the Industry Council plan, and that as long ago as 1940, is the CIO. I think it proves something about the CIO, and also something about the Church.

TWO CORRECTIONS

Several readers have pointed out that the current dividend on a share of U. S. Steel common stock is not $6.10, as I said in this column in the May 2nd issue, but $3.00. The $6.10 figure is the net earnings per share. So the dividend is about 7.2% of the price of a share. But the net earnings are still the net profit, as far as a dumbbell like me can tell from the meager information on the financial page. The fact that a company doesn't pay out all its profits in dividends doesn't make it any the less profit.

I apologize for misinforming readers on this point. And also on the point of the total value of the Wage Stabilization Board's recommendation. I left out premium time for Sunday starting January 1, 1953. That would make the total 26¢ per hour as of that date.

JOHN C. CORT.

WASHINGTON

Clearing the Slums from the City of Man

A YEAR AGO, in the deserts of the Middle East, an army of locusts lay ready to destroy the ripening crops of Iran, India, and Pakistan. When local resources proved inadequate to cope with the danger, the governments of the threatened areas appealed to our State Department's Technical Cooperation Administration, under the terms of their Point Four agreements with the United States. Within a few weeks small aircraft and insecticides had been flown from New York to the Middle East and turned back the impending invasion and the famine that would have followed it.

This is a dramatic example of the ways in which the United States can help the peoples of the underdeveloped areas to combat their natural enemies, increase their productivity, and approach the goal of a reasonable standard of life. We are making partial restitution in this way for the damage inflicted on the traditional economies and societies of the underdeveloped areas, during the past century, by Western colonialism and industrialism. As J. S. Furnivall has said of Burma, the peasant often became, instead of a poor man in a poor country, a poor man in a rich country—something even more exasperating and incomprehensible to him.

There seem to be two main misconceptions about foreign aid prevalent among the American public. One is the belief that we are bleeding ourselves white to feed the whole non-Communist world, while those we are helping are doing nothing to help themselves. Actually, President Truman has asked only two-thirds of a billion dollars, or a little over four dollars for every person in the United States, for economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas during the coming fiscal year. Furthermore, the governments we are helping are matching our funds with money of their own.

The second misconception is the idea that economic aid, if worthwhile at all, is purely a government function. As a matter of fact, private philanthropy and investment are already playing an indispensable and increasing role in supplementing governmental efforts.

The idea that our foreign aid program ought to represent a sustained attempt by our whole people to clear the slums from the City of Man was the driving force behind a National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, held recently in Washington and attended by some fourteen hundred representatives of religious, philanthropic, educational, labor,

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and business organizations from all part of the United States and from many foreign countries.

THE BASIC problems to be met at the conference were generally recognized. The underdeveloped areas (meaning mainly Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia) are cursed by an appalling poverty; per capita income is only about one-twentieth as high as in the United States. For this poverty several factors are responsible: geographic and climatic conditions, low productivity, antiquated techniques and institutions (such as the Indian caste system, or absentee landlordism), the pressure of population on resources, and the unsettling effects of contact with industrialized nations.

The results of this poverty—malnutrition, disease, short life expectancy, and a tendency toward political extremism—combine to prevent the underdeveloped areas from contributing much to the economy of the world beyond their raw materials, and make them a millstone around the necks of the more highly developed nations. The peoples of these areas have awakened to the fact that their poverty is not inevitable, but the low level of investment in their predominantly agrarian economies has established a vicious circle of poverty which they can escape only with outside help.

Several speakers at the conference pointed out that both governmental and private programs of foreign aid should be better organized. Nelson Rockefeller, for example, complained of the fact that Averell Harriman's Mutual Security Agency and the State Department's Technical Cooperation Administration are only the two most important of the twenty-odd government agencies operating in the field of foreign aid. He proposed instead the creation of three agencies with full control respectively over all political, economic, and military assistance.

On the private side, a need was generally recognized for the establishment of a committee to coordinate the activities of the various private organizations interested in foreign aid. On the whole, little was said at the conference about the United Nations as an agency for administering foreign aid, something which is particularly surprising in view of the fact that international organizations are in a position to offer assistance without arousing the suspicions of "imperialism" such as purely American enterprises often arouse in the minds of the peoples of the underdeveloped areas.

TWO main views were expressed at the conference as to how much aid we should give. One, expounded most forcefully perhaps by Walter Reuther, was that nothing less than a multi-billion dollar program would suffice. The other, expressed by Secretary Acheson, was that the absorptive capacity of the underdeveloped areas is limited, though likely to increase, and that aid in excess of that capacity tends to create technological unemployment and aggravate inflation. "Good ideas," said Justice Douglas along the same lines, "don't need a lot of financing; the lousy ideas require a lot of money." There is much more evidence, it seems to me, for the second of these views than for the first. The two-thirds of a billion dollars requested by the President reflects the second and more cautious view, and this is certainly not a sum which can be heavily cut without endangering the whole foreign aid program.

With regard to the kind of aid to be offered, there seemed to be general agreement that technical personnel, who can train local technicians and help the peoples of the underdeveloped areas to help themselves by increasing their productivity, are the backbone of any effective program. In addition, local requirements must be taken into account. This means that in most cases the simple must precede the complex, industry must yield priority to agriculture, and care must be taken to disrupt at little as possible those aspects of the indigenous cultures which deserve to survive.

To be successful, our foreign aid program must attack all the root causes of poverty, and not merely one or some of them, and it must not refrain from challenging the political and social status quo where necessary.

It will do little good to increase production if a continuation of oppressive systems of land tenure and political control channels the benefits of the increase into the pockets of officials and landlords, or if increases in population, induced by a falling death rate, nullify increases in output. The only practicable, effective, and morally acceptable solutions to the two difficult problems of effecting desirable social change and reducing the birthrate seem to be the establishment of democratic institutions and encouragement of the "rhythm" system.

Mere economic aid, no matter how intelligently and effectively administered, obviously is not enough. The success or failure of our foreign aid program will probably be determined less by what we do or give than by the attitude of the peoples and governments of the underdeveloped areas themselves. As Charles Malik pointed out to the conference in a brilliant speech, their needs are not exclusively material. The real question, according to Dr. Malik, is how to eradicate ignorance and superstition, how to cultivate the mind, how to touch the fundamental springs of action.

One of the most important non-economic aspects of our foreign aid program is the task of explaining to those we are helping why we are doing it. We must tell them what they must suspect—that, in addition to charitable motives, our aim is to help ourselves, for unless we all hang together we are likely to hang separately.

HAROLD C. HINTON.

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THE STAGE

THE MALE ANIMAL

THERE are two moments in the current production of "The Male Animal"—both of them hard to describe precisely — which seem to me to achieve perfection in the way of polite lunacy. In one of them, when the stage is aswirl with frantic figures in the throes of a domestic crisis, Robert Preston pauses long enough to stare at a hot water bottle. "I thought these things were different now than they used to be," he mutters. "I mean better looking—somehow." That's all there is to that one—the melee promptly begins again, and the esthetic contemplation of familiar household objects is forever dismissed.

In the other, Elliott Nugent, who has been harried, bored, and exasperated all evening by the heartily obtuse behavior of an idiot who can concentrate on nothing but football, leans back against the sofa, stares at his cheerfully mindless contemporary, and deliberately, maliciously asks him to name his All-American choice for right guard. There is such cold contempt in the question as Nugent puts it, such certainty that the man will answer him, such absolute assurance that the man will never in a million years notice the contempt in his voice, that the single line becomes a masterpiece of oblique comic inflection.

I don't mean to give the impression that these are the only good things about this revival of the twelve-year-old James Thurber-Elliott Nugent play. Practically all of it is delectable, and the saga of the comfortably mouselike intellectual who is forced to reawaken in himself the cave-man instincts which will protect his home seems a good bit more pointed, and possessed of a more sharply defined style, than it did when it was first produced.

The wild mental tilt of Thurber is stamped all over it—line after line comes out of nowhere and scurries furtively off again—and both Elliott Nugent and Robert Preston, as intellectual and beef-eater respectively, are superb. The City Center production was thoroughly professional this time around, and when "The Male Animal" moves over to a regulation Broadway house it will still be a very sound buy.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

"MUCH ADO" is not an easy play to produce—Shakespeare wrote about half of it as high comedy and the other half as sentimental melodrama—but when its problems are properly resolved the rewards are tremendous. Claire Luce and Anthony Eustrel, who are mainly responsible for this particular revival, have not only failed to do anything about the play's difficulties but seem not to have noticed that it has any. They have blithely slapped the whole business on the stage in majestic innocence of all considerations of style, form, or even taste, and the result is an appallingly pedestrian, tedious, and textbooky evening.

Miss Luce makes Beatrice a frantic trollop, and Mr. Eustrel turns Benedick into something resembling an eighteenth-century macaroni. The lethal grace of Shakespeare's cantankerous couple becomes belligerent and boorish fishwifery, and a last-act effort to soften the vulgarity by an access of choked-up tenderness is as misguided as it is unsuccessful.

I can think of no reason why Melville Cooper shouldn't have made a good Dogberry, except that he is in the directorial hands of Mr. Eustrel. In any event, except for a few sudden flashes, he is as windy and wandering as the rest of the company, which is about as windy and wandering as you can get. Stewart Chaney's cardboard settings would have done nicely at Drury Lane a couple of generations ago, and the stage business is of the sort in which giddy serving-girls are busy knitting garlands—you heard me, *knitting* garlands—all night long. (*Closed at the Music Box*)

HOOK 'N LADDER

LIKE that old joke about the man who enjoyed hitting himself on the head with a hammer because it felt so good when he stopped, this one was worth sitting through for the intermissions. Forty-fifth Street never looked lovelier.

There was one interesting incident, though. It took place on the sidewalk just prior to the third act when the house manager stepped out to give the curtain warning and inadvertently announced the *second* act. He was nearly beaten to death where he stood.

The play, a farce by Charles Horner and Henry Miles, did not give more than one performance. I think the actors just never came back. (*Closed at the Royale*)

THE VICTIM

THIS was producer David Heilweil's second try at the off-Broadway President and, like the earlier "Dark Legend," it represented something literate in the way of a script and something reasonably competent in the way of production. It also represented a common and substantial error in dramatic thinking: the notion that an acted-out *idea* is the same thing as a play.

Where "Dark Legend" attempted to show that the Hamlet and Orestes myths have contemporary psychiatric explanations, "The Victim" set out to diagram the effects of anti-Semitism on the sensitive Jew. Both were illustrations of abstract preconceptions rather than immediate mirrors of concrete life, both were all head and no heart, and both failed quickly. One of our worst

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habits nowadays is to suppose that a rational equation is an adequate stage substitute for an intuited sense of the movement of things, and the fact that "The Victim" *was* rationally interesting could not save it. (*Closed at the President*)

WALTER KERR.

THE SCREEN

GENIUS, STAY 'WAY FROM MY DOOR

THE rugged individualist may be fun to read about or to see on stage and screen, but living or working with such a person is something else again. "Life with Father" was probably amusing for everyone except the Days. And now in "Carbine Williams," the movies have come along with another law-unto-himself character, a genius of sorts, who we are told "holds 68 U. S. patents, greatest of which is the short-stroke piston, which became an integral part of the U. S. M-1 carbine, developed by Winchester and the first carbine to be adopted by the U. S. Army in 40 years."

The story of Marsh Williams is told in a long flashback by a North Carolina prison warden (played by Wendell Corey) to Williams' young son, who has just discovered that father is an ex-con. At the end of the tale, the boy—full of forgiveness and emotion—rushes into his father's arms. But we, who have just sat through some pretty grim material, don't feel quite so soft about the whole thing—even though James Stewart plays the lead role well and with his usual feet-on-the-earth-and-head-in-the-clouds charm. I should say "underplays" because Director Richard Thorpe, except in a few scenes, has handled the entire script (written by Art Cohn from a *Reader's Digest* biographical account) in a curiously muted tone, as if to say, well, this is Marsh Williams' story: he invented some wonderful guns, but he sure is a peculiar duck.

Among this rugged individualist's other peculiarities was his unwillingness to accept the Eighteenth Amendment. His skill with all things mechanical led to his making first stills and then some very good illegal liquor. But after a raid by Federal agents and shooting on both sides, Marsh, and none of his fellow distillers, was accused of killing one of the Revenue boys. Even in prison Marsh proved quite an individualist, although it must be said that the grim prison conditions portrayed in this movie would make anyone line up with rebellious convicts.

While doing thirty days in solitary, Marsh got the idea for his carbine; later he secretly built it and, during the next six years, perfected it. No doubt as a tribute to man's will and mechanical genius under the most adverse circumstances, and as a study of a good wife's loyalty (Jean Hagen plays Maggie Williams with touching sincerity) as well as a smart warden's faith in his fellow man, "Carbine Williams" deserves a hand. But most of it is on the drab side. Marsh himself will try your patience as much as win your admiration.

STANLEY Kramer, who gave "The Sniper" its excellent production, doesn't tell us whether the carbine his psychoneurotic leading character uses to bump off his victims was invented by Marsh Williams. However, Kramer does give us a lot of gory details in this expertly photographed picture—showing how an unbalanced young man (Arthur Franz) shoots women and how hard the police work to track down the unknown killer. Actually Director Edward Dmytryk handles the whole affair as a hare-and-hounds thriller, with the sniper as the hare successfully eluding his pursuers even as he goes on and on killing against his will, and with the police as the hounds bickering pretty much among themselves but relentlessly chasing their game.

Adolphe Menjou's portrayal of the police lieutenant is cold and determined. In fact this whole movie has a chilling atmosphere about it—not only because of its gruesome subject matter, but mainly because of our inability to identify ourselves with any group: the psychopathic killer about whose background we know so little (except for some vague references to a mother problem), the victims (who seem to annoy the sniper because of their interest in love), and the hard-hearted police. The high point of this picture is in the discussions between the police and the city psychologist, who believes that when offenders are caught the first time, they should be treated and cured before being released. The psychologist has a point, but the police are interested only in killing a killer.

ANOTHER psychopathic killer appears in a new French import called "Under the Paris Sky," but the film is not mainly concerned with him. Actually this is one of those movies, like "Street Scene" or "Grand Hotel," which presents a group of people and interweaves their destinies during the course of a single day. I am a pushover for them and was fascinated during most of "Under the Paris Sky." However I suspect my interest was held more by Director-writer Julien Duvivier's skillful manipulation of story than by depth of characterization. Though the picture has no big-name stars, it is well acted throughout by the cast playing the dozen leading roles and by its many supporting players. I particularly liked Sylvie as an impoverished old lady who couldn't get sixty-four francs to feed her many cats, and Jean Brochard as a factory worker who remains with his co-workers on a sit-down strike although his family are celebrating his silver-wedding anniversary.

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The photography and local-color touches in Duvivier's movie are outstanding, and although the plot mechanics are more than a little contrived you really feel that Paris as well as its people is the subject matter of the film. The big *tour de force* comes at the climax when the workman, free at last from the strike, is shot by the police who are aiming at the psychopathic killer. He is operated on by another of the film's leading characters, a young doctor who has repeatedly failed his medical examinations. And the heart operation is shown in detail—in a kind of scene I have never found in the movies before: definitely not for the squeamish.

THE French seem to be preoccupied with medical details these days and have sent over another film, "The Perfectionist," which aims to cover the field thoroughly. Unfortunately, in spite of a good cast headed by Pierre Fresnay, who plays a great and overambitious surgeon, the picture never jells. It has several individual scenes dealing effectively with problems connected with the goals in one's work (reminiscent of "Point of No Return") but as a movie it scatters its shots wastefully and comes to no definite conclusions.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

FAR EASTERN POLICY

Berkeley, Calif.

TO the Editors: Whether or not Miss Freda Utley—writing in The Commonweal of April 11—is right in matters of Far Eastern policy is for experts on the Far East to decide: I am not one of them. But I wish to protest as vigorously as I can against her statements about the relative importance of Europe and Asia for the defence of the United States.

In Miss Utley's opinion "it is clear even to the layman . . . that today America could be as easily, if not actually more easily, attacked across the Pacific as from Europe." To me, it seems that a layman (or an expert) would have to forget his geography to adopt that conclusion: no degree of verbalism can alter the fact that in the important latitudes the Pacific is considerably wider than the Atlantic, and today and probably within the next twenty years the difficulties of naval and air attack are in direct proportion to the distance that must be covered.

What about the relative value of Europe and Eastern Asia as sources of military strength? There may be a hundred Ruhr valleys in Asia fifty years from now, but the one developed Ruhr valley, which can supply either ourselves and our friends or our enemy and his satellites with steel, guns, tanks and planes, is in Europe. If the Soviets conquer the territory between the Elbe River and the Atlantic Ocean, they can be industrially our equals within a relatively short time, and of course they would in addition be vastly superior to us in numbers of men. East-Asia, at least for the next decade, can only supply the Soviets with some valuable but not absolutely indispensable raw materials and add to the manpower for which no effective equipment is available.

Surely, no person in his senses will deny that the conquest of China by the Communists is a great threat to the *future* security of the United States, and it is equally true that we "face the same enemy westwards across the Pacific as across the Atlantic." But this common enemy can desire nothing better than to see us commit our scarce military resources during the next years for the major part in an area where the great decisions may take place twenty years from now, but not today or tomorrow.

I heartily agree with Miss Utley that a fair treatment of Germany is essential to the defence of Europe: I have done what little I could to combat the spirit of vengeance against the German people—to be distinguished from the just demand for the punishment of Nazi criminals. But we can no more defend Europe without France than we can without Germany. An unconditional or indiscriminate support of German demands against France and Britain, or an attempt on our part to lay down the law for peoples west of the Rhine would be as self-defeating a policy as the Morgenthau plan turned out to be.

I have a suggestion to make for a rapprochement between our respective points of view. Although the United States must not dissipate its military strength, we could do somewhat more in Asia and at the same time be much safer in Europe if we made a greater effort to be militarily strong. From 1939 to 1952 our national income has risen from seventy-two billion dollars to two hundred and seventy-five billion—an enormous growth even if every reasonable allowance is made for the decline in the value of money. The fact that in spite of this increase we can still not spare enough planes for Korea to assure us absolute superiority there without dangerously weakening our European forces is to me a greater scandal than all the Hisses and Coplons and Remingtons put together. The dangers which we are creating for ourselves by insisting on peace-time comforts on the brink of disaster are far greater than anything spies or saboteurs can do to us. As an economist, I have a natural preference for a balanced budget, but there is no virtue in cutting expenditures if this policy amounts to an invitation to Stalin to take over. Could not a demand for a greater national effort offer a common basis to those who worry more about Asia and to those who worry more about Europe?

CARL LANDAUER.

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Witness: Whittaker Chambers

JOHN COGLEY

IN the opening pages of *Witness* (*Random House, $5.*) Whittaker Chambers writes, "It is a terrible book. It is terrible in what it tells about men. If anything, it is more terrible in what it tells about the world in which you live . . . Much more than Alger Hiss or Whittaker Chambers was on trial in the trials of Alger Hiss. Two faiths were on trial. Human societies, like human beings, live by faith and die when faith dies. At issue in the Hiss Case was the question whether this sick society, which we call Western civilization, could in its extremity still cast up a man whose faith in it was so great that he would voluntarily abandon those things which men hold good, including life, to defend it. At issue was the question whether this man's faith could prevail against a man whose equal faith it was that this society is sick beyond saving, and that mercy itself pleads for its swift extinction and replacement by another. . . .

"At heart, the Great Case was this critical conflict of faiths; that is why it is a great case. On a scale personal enough to be felt by all, but big enough to be symbolic, the two irreconcilable faiths of our time—Communism and Freedom—came to grips in the persons of two conscious and resolute men. Indeed, it would have been hard, in a world still only dimly aware of what the conflict is about, to find two other men who knew so clearly."

Someone, I think it was Arthur Koestler, has said that the final struggle for the world will be between Communists and ex-Communists, and it is in this vast context that Chambers sees the Hiss affair—rather as a prelude to Armageddon.

When he conceives of himself as an "ex-Communist" Chambers has a specific image in mind. There are ex-Communists and ex-Communists, and Whittaker Chambers numbers himself among those penitential few elected by Providence to bear the burden of the free world's guilt. It is almost a Christlike figure.

Not all who once carried a card or left the Party have lost the true Marxist faith, if only because most of them never really had the faith, however attentive they were to their devotions and duties, he believes. Among the thousands of Americans who passed in and out of the Party during the last two decades many were among the "spiritual vagrants" of our time, who prowl the movements in search of an intellectual night's lodging.

WHEN Chambers speaks of an ex-Communist he means "a man who knew clearly why he became a Communist, who served Communism devotedly and knew why he served it, who broke with Communism unconditionally and knew why he broke with it." There is only a handful of such men on earth—those who lived by the good in Communism and served the evil in it for the sake of the good, and then finally, with horror and heartbreak, came to realize that no man *can* serve two masters. "Euclid alone has looked on beauty bare." Such men have seen naked evil—they have had, as it were, a glimpse of the satanic vision.

Chambers does not go so far as to raise his classic "anti-Communist" to the mystical heights of the saint; but he does hold that for himself and the few others like him, it has been given to see that the choice is between "God or Man, Soul or Mind, Freedom or Communism," and that the choice is inescapable. Once made, it may lead anywhere, even to the valley of the shadow of death. Yet there is nothing for a man to do but follow its harsh bidding.

It is the ex-Communist (in this drastic sense), not the voluble anti-Communist, the facile patrioteer, the frightened left-wing deserter or the reformed Marxist satisfying some dim need for self-purgation by Kleig-lighted confessions, who will be the fated, fatal ultimate witness—a witness not primarily *against* Communism or anything else, but a witness *for* something; as Chambers puts it, a witness "to God's grace and to the fortifying power of faith."

THIS then is how Mr. Chambers sees himself—as the Witness, taking the word in all the rich classical context of theology, and it is the personal vision which dominates every page of his autobiography. Here, it seems to me, is the key to understanding this man, his behavior, his tribulations and sorrows, his sometimes maddening pretentiousness, his evident satisfaction with the final outcome of his personal ordeal, even his over-articulated compassion for Hiss.

It is even possible that Chambers' vision of himself may explain his literary style. The overblown ripeness of the prose may be only a hangover from his *Time* days, when Senior Editor Chambers perfected a style suited to the majestic conceits of that publication. Yet I rather suspect Chambers writes the way he does for the same reason that Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth* as he did: it would be unseemly to record so awesome a destiny in language less opulent.

Several times in the course of his narrative Chambers refers to himself as a pudgy little fellow, as round in girth and lacking in physical impressiveness as Father Christmas. He takes obvious satisfaction in the paradox of himself as a mild-mannered *little* man, a David, defying Goliath, "the focus of the concentrated evil of our

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time." It is the self-vision which accounts, I think, for what often seems close to maudlin self-sympathy but is really self-wonder. When he talks about himself as Witness, it is as if the man were discussing a remote, heroic figure in Greek tragedy.

Perhaps it is because Whittaker Chambers has this persistent vision of himself, however deep it may be buried, that many Americans, especially those in the consciously liberal camp, have found in him an unsympathetic, unattractive figure. I think that in most cases his book will only reinforce the original distaste.

As was evident in the Hiss trials, many groups of Americans are emotionally lined up against the little man—and other groups which would like to lionize him because he is vigorously anti-Communist have been frustrated by his reticence. These latter, of course, were from the very beginning more anti-Hiss than pro-Chambers in the symbolic struggle, but the liberal groups were often less pro-Hiss than anti-Chambers. It is interesting to speculate on just why this was so. Much hinges, I think, on the nature of Chambers' personal testament. To accept him and his "witness" meant the acceptance of all that he was testifying against—the idea than one may avoid the choice between good and evil not only with regard to ends but also to means.

Moral relativism, pragmatism, raw secularism—all the timid forebears of the giant Marxism—stood before the bar with Hiss. It was not only a generation that was on trial, as Mr. Alistair Cooke put it; it was also the vision of good without God that has so long enticed the intellectual élite of the West.

To accept Chambers and his "witness" meant also the acceptance of all that he was witnessing *for*—the unyielding regality of the absolute, the tyranny of Evil or Good (take your choice: you can not serve two masters), the imperious claims of God Almighty and the ultimate dependence of what is only finite, however, noble, on His love and grace.

It is not, nor was it so during the trials, that people, even very good people, still cling to illusions about Russia and Communism. Even Henry Wallace is today willing to admit his blindness, if not his folly. What makes Chambers an affront is that the man, whatever his personal pretensions (and they are many and annoying in his book) has put the emphasis where it belongs —on the moral absolutism that Communism, because it sums up one of the two contemporary absolutes, has forced all of us to face.

In any case that is the underlying theme that gives lasting value to this account of Whittaker Chambers' sometimes stormy, sometimes bucolic life, his conversion to, and apostasy from, Communism, his silent years, and his lengthy, very personal account of the Hiss trials.

Some day perhaps Alger Hiss will write a book, an honest book, and it will fill out this history of the times to which Mr. Chambers has brought such burning, eloquent witness.

BOOKS

Trial by Hearsay, Judgment by Rumor

THE JUDGES AND THE JUDGED. By Merle Miller. Sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union. Doubleday. $2.50.

By JAMES M. O'NEILL

THIS book is a sweeping exposé of the denunciation of scores of Americans by private individuals who in case after case offer no evidence whatever that the denunciation is justified. *Counterattack* and the book *Red Channels* have been engaged in listing people who are "reported as" belonging to, or having once belonged to, the Communist Party or Communist Front organizations. The reporting alluded to is often no more than a statement in *Counterattack* itself that the individual mentioned has been so listed in *Red Channels*. The identification of the original reporter is not given, nor is the evidence upon which the original report was made supplied to the reader, nor was the person under attack given any opportunity to answer the charge.

This activity on the part of *Counterattack* or *Red Channels* has resulted in large numbers of actors and artists being dropped from employment in the radio networks simply on the basis of their having been so listed in these publications. One of the publishers is quoted as saying: "We didn't go out and . . . actively try to find out how many Communist statements they (the *Red Channels* listees) made at cocktail parties, nor how many anti-Communist statements they . . . made at cocktail parties or in business, *or anti-Communist organizations they belonged to, nor did we try to find out whether they were Communist, pro-Communist, Fascist, or what have you. . . .* (emphasis mine—M.M.)"

It is obviously impossible for any reviewer of this book to take the time himself (or to hire a staff of competent investigators) to check the accuracy of all the quotations that Mr. Miller uses in this book. However, those quotations are specifically documented and they seem wholly consistent with *Counterattack's* regular activity and particularly with *Counterattack's* discussion of Mr. Miller's book *(April 11, 1952)*.

I write this review in the confident assumption that Mr. Miller's investigation was competently and conscientiously done, and his report accurately written. If *Counterattack* or *Red Channels* will prove the opposite (obviously they are the ones in the best position to try), I shall of course revise my opinion. Until this is done my position is that Mr. Miller has made his case.

Counterattack's answer of April 11 simply does not stand up under examination. In its comment on Mr. Miller's book *Counterattack* states that the reason for the book is that *Counterattack* "is *hurting the*

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Communist Party. It sticks to FACTS." I have been unable to find any evidence in *The Judges and the Judged* that Mr. Miller is in any way interested in protecting the Communist Party from hurt; and unless Mr. Miller's book is almost totally fraudulent, the "FACTS" that *Counterattack* and *Red Channels* have stuck to in case after case is the "fact" that their individual victim has been "reported as" a Communist or a Communist Fronter.

I should say that Mr. Miller's concern is with the terrifying *fact* that a private individual or organization can, on the basis of some anonymous report of Communist sympathy on the part of Mr. X, deprive Mr. X of his opportunity to earn his living in his chosen profession. I share Mr. Miller's deep concern — probably more acutely than some others do, because of my twelve years on the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union. The attempts of presidents of colleges or chairmen of boards of trustees to destroy the professional career, the opportunity to earn a living and support a family, on the part of a competent teacher because the president doesn't like his political activity (i.e., writing a letter to a Congressman opposing compulsory military service, or presiding as chairman of the meeting at which Mr. Henry Wallace made a speech) or because the president of the board of trustees disapproves of the teacher's support of the activity of some labor union, or of the general program of the New Deal, are cases that seem to parallel instances cited by Mr. Miller.

IF this technique of destroying professionally those with whom someone says we should disagree is to be accepted calmly by the American people, we shall soon cease to be in any way a healthy, free society. If any person is to be proceeded against and have his livelihood taken away from him *without evidence, and with no opportunity to meet his accusers, cross-examine them and answer them,* then who is safe? Accusations, rumors, "it is said," and "it is reported," are available to discredit any person and any organization in America.

If we can allow self-appointed individuals or committees, even "former FBI men" to act as accuser, investigator (if any) and judge, as to what Americans can work in what industries, then all Americans are living in a dangerous atmosphere.

This is particularly true of all Catholics. It is now a lucrative business to publish totally unsupported attacks upon American Catholics as necessarily, *doctrinally,* opposed to, and scheming to destroy, American democracy and civil liberties. In fact on the basis of the group condemnations that have appeared recently in books by more than one author it can be accurately said that every Catholic has been "reported as" subversive. Suppose a small group could frighten the administrators of radio and television, or public education, or any large industry, with the idea that since every Catholic has been "reported as" subversive of the American Constitution and American democracy, employers should be careful about hiring a Catholic because they by so doing might offend the great majority of the American people? Maybe "it *can* happen here."

One of the things that *Red Channels* has taken as an indication of subversive activity is that the actor or writer concerned has worked for "current Communist goals," such as, for instance, "academic freedom," "civil rights," "peace" and "the H-bomb." After the experience I had for many years on the Committee on Academic Freedom, I am of the opinion that only a relatively small proportion of Americans has any accurate understanding of what the terms "academic freedom" and "civil rights" mean to those who use them accurately. But if decent Americans are to turn their backs on such fundamental concepts as academic freedom and civil rights because Communists happen *to pretend* to believe in them, American society will rapidly become one in which freedom will be almost unknown.

I wish I could say something which would induce all the members of the following groups to read *The Judges and the Judged*. *First,* all who believe that *Counterattack* and *Red Channels* have adopted methods which can helpfully serve American freedom at the present time, or promote the extension or preservation of it in the future; and *second,* all those who need a better comprehension of the bitter injustice, the savage consequences, that can flow from the unexamined and unsupported charges of private individuals that other private individuals in our American society are "subversive."

This is not to say that we have no problem of how best to oppose Communist propaganda. The best way in my opinion is to make everyone so aware of, and so devoted to, our freedom—even as belonging to those with whom we disagree—that its defense against all who are *proved* to be trying to destroy it will be automatic and instantaneous. However, publications like the two cited by Mr. Miller which do not distinguish between "the dupers and the duped," or between the currently active Communist propagandist and the reformed juvenile enthusiast who once supported "causes" that appealed to his uninformed emotions, are not making a helpful contribution.

Probably nothing will ever solve this problem except a widespread understanding of the meaning of freedom in a democracy, and a willingness on the part of those who do understand to oppose the influence of individuals and small groups of private citizens who wish to make the life of some of their neighbors as unhappy and underprivileged as possible, on the simple basis that "someone has said" that the unfortunate neighbor is a so-and-so.

REVIEWERS

James M. O'Neill is the author of "Catholicism and American Freedom," which is reviewed in this issue.

Gregory Zilboorg, M.D., is a practicing psychiatrist in New York City.

Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell is a Canon of the Episcopal Church and student counselor at the University of Chicago.

Donald McDonald is a member of the staff of the Catholic Messenger, Davenport, Iowa.

Dom Emeric A. Lawrence, O.S.B. teaches at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota.

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Freud Without Analysis

THE CASE AGAINST PSYCHOANALYSIS. By Andrew Salter. Holt. $2.50.

By GREGORY ZILBOORG

THIS little book is a typical and telling example of uncritical criticism, and of that type of intellectual rigidity whose guide seems to be prejudice rather than investigative consideration.

The author starts with a condemnation. Contrary to modern psychology, psychiatry, sociology and anthropology, which consider themselves enriched by the contributions which psychoanalysis has made to the understanding of man, the author sees only "sterile wasteland where the hot winds of analytic controversy raise blinding sandstorms. There is no oasis and nothing grows. It is a dead and awesome thing." He explores psychoanalysis by way of expletives and scurrilous appellations "to see if by chance there is something there—besides dead ends, darkness and decay."

Quotations are taken out of context. Psychoanalysis is presented in a manner of flagrant lack of understanding. The author attacks "the sexual revolution" as if Freud did it. He says Freud's life instinct is but another name for *Eros*—sex. If the author ever knew or remembered that Plato spoke the same language, that many Fathers of the Church used *Eros* as the supreme term to denote love, long before Freud, and that originally *Agape* and *Eros* and *amor* and *caritas* were synonymous, he might have been embarrassed. To attack Freud for suggesting the existence of a death instinct, which Freud himself said is not a prerequisite for the understanding of psychoanalysis, is not scientific, to say the least.

The author would want us to limit ourselves to the laboratory. Evidently he overlooks entirely the humanistic aspects of modern psychology and, with all the materialistically minded and concretistically limited minds, he would proclaim "the hopelessness of all psychology" (as a nineteenth century German psychiatrist did) and recognize only the "psychology" of the muscle-twitching and salivary reactions of laboratory frogs and dogs.

He quotes Gorer on the national character, as if Gorer were a psychoanalyst, which he is not. He quotes Meyerson and unnamed psychologists, psychiatrists and neurologists as saying that psychoanalysis is a failure. That psychoanalysis is being taught now in universities and medical schools, that psychoanalytic training is now being carried out in certain medical schools and in specially accredited psychoanalytic institutes, is all overlooked.

Happiness and health are woefully confused in this booklet.

Despite the seemingly extensive quotations from Freud, the author shows a tendency to insinuate and to scold. It is really impossible to take his critique seriously, since he himself prefers to deny, to reject, instead of to verify.

Despite the apparently extensive bibliography and the wealth of references, there is almost no evidence of clinical comprehension of what Freud is all about. Many variegated and mutually contradictory sources are given equal authoritative value.

There *is* a case against psychoanalysis—or at least there are many things in psychoanalysis which might be objected to or rejected—but this book does not present the real case.

It is more a disgruntled blast about things which were being discussed twenty and thirty years ago, and which were answered long ago.

It is too bad. That is all.

Calling Blanshard's Bluff

CATHOLICISM AND AMERICAN FREEDOM. By James M. O'Neill. Harper. $3.50.

By BERNARD IDDINGS BELL

MR. O'NEILL is a lawyer of repute, chairman for twelve years of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union; also, for thirty-nine years, a teacher in publicly supported, non-Church controlled educational institutions. His book is the result of a meticulous and detailed study of a best-seller called *American Freedom and Catholic Power,* by Paul Blanshard. Blanshard's attack gained repute and circulation chiefly because it was publicly commended by a number of distinguished Protestants, mostly clergymen, who, as Mr. O'Neill justly points out, "on account of the positions they occupy and the ideals they advocate should have been expected to expose its bias, its basic freedom-smothering philosophy of the omnipotent state, and its erroneous scholarship."

Such enthusiastic endorsements are explainable only on the ground that the endorsers had never read Mr. Blanshard's book or at least had skimmed through it. They knew that Mr. Blanshard had had a reputable though undistinguished scholarly career. They assumed he could be trusted. Also, it was plain he didn't like Catholics nohow, and neither did they. They rushed into print about how accurate, how scholarly, how justified he was. Presumably many of them now know that they were "had" and are a little ashamed of their precipitancy; but they did much harm to American unity by stimulating an unjustified anti-Catholic prejudice.

Certainly they will feel ashamed of themselves and of Mr. Blanshard if they read Mr. O'Neill's reply. He charges Mr. Blanshard with inaccurate use of words, unsupported and undocumented assertions, absence of information which he could easily have procured, misquotation, offering remarks of individual Catholics as official Catholic doctrine, history inexcusably misread. Mr. Blanshard claims to have secured agreement with him by Catholic authorities, who have turned out to be men of no authority. In short, Mr. O'Neill accuses Mr. Blanshard of almost every sort of misbehavior possible in what purports to be a seriously scholarly book. Having made these charges, Mr. O'Neill seems to this reviewer then to have proved them up to the hilt. The only way Mr. Blan-

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shard can recover his reputation as a scholar and a gentleman is to write an effective reply to Mr. O'Neill's charges.

This reviewer had not read Mr. Blanshard's opus until he had perused Mr. O'Neill's reply. He has since done it. He is shocked that such a book as Mr. Blanshard's should have been written and congratulates Mr. O'Neill for showing the man up.

But this reviewer's final thought is this: the blame for this sort of mistreatment of Catholicism is not wholly to be laid on non-Catholics. For a number of years there has been a great and proper resentment against a constant misrepresentation of Protestantism indulged in by a number of apologists for the Roman Catholic position. These unethical Catholic utterances are, to be sure, not official, though they sometimes get the *Imprimatur* of an unwary Bishop; but then Mr. Blanshard is not an official spokesman for Protestantism or for any denomination thereof. Irritation has been exacerbated by Blanshardist tactics on both sides. Protestants get tired, for example, of hearing and reading Roman Catholics assert that Luther left the Church in order to marry a nun or explain away the Church of England by saying it was founded by Henry VIII. We could do with more knowledge on both sides. The ignorance of Roman Catholics about other kinds of Christians is quite as great as the other way around.

Evolution of a Statesman

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG. Edited by Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr. with the colloboration of Joe Alex Morris. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

By DONALD McDONALD

SENATOR ARTHUR VANDENBERG of Michigan died April 18, 1951. His obituary in the American press was almost submerged by the more spectacular story of General MacArthur, who had been relieved of his multiple commands six days earlier. And yet, of the two events, Senator Vandenberg's death was the significant landmark. For when the Michigan Republican Senator died, America's bipartisan foreign policy died with him.

The identification of Vandenberg with bipartisan foreign policy had been almost exact. Bipartisanship flourished when he flourished. And when Vandenberg began to die, following a serious lung operation in October, 1949, bipartisan foreign policy began to die also. A month after his operation, Vandenberg wrote to John Foster Dulles that he was "getting sick and tired of the increasingly persistent attempts to support the fiction that bipartisan foreign policy is entirely 'me too' on the part of its Republican participants. There is evidently a rugged fight ahead of our own party to break down the unity which we have created for the voice of America at the water's edge. I do not have the remotest idea of surrendering to any such self-serving isolationism."

A week or so later, the convalescing Vandenberg wrote to Senator Lodge of Massachusetts that he did not like some "current G.O.P. trends . . . utter distortions of facts in respect to the kind of 'bipartisan' foreign policy you and I have sustained. This could develop into very serious business for the country — and it could needlessly wreck our party's future."

A month later the one man who had done the most to give to foreign policy deliberations the dignified and intelligent attention which voters have a right to expect from their Senators defined the nature and purpose of bipartisanship in a letter to one of his constituents: "To me, 'bipartisan foreign policy' means a mutual effort, under our indispensable two-party system, to unite our official voice at the water's edge so that America speaks with maximum authority against those who would divide and conquer us and the free world. It does not involve the remotest surrender of free debate in determining our position. On the contrary, frank cooperation and free debate are indispensable to ultimate unity. In a word, it simply seeks national security ahead of partisan ad-

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vantage. Every foreign policy must be totally debated (and I think the record proves it has been) and the 'loyal opposition' is under special obligation to see that this occurs."

For the Senator, bipartisanship did not gag free debate, it only shortened debate, made it more intelligent and more responsible because more informed of the reality of international problems. And if bipartisanship was a threat to a vigorous two-party system, the Senator, after much soul-searching, thought such a threat was "offset by consideration of national interest which ought to be paramount."

The Senator's son, aided by Joe Alex Morris, has done a smooth, coherent job of editing Mr. Vandenberg's private papers—letters, parts of major addresses, and voluminous diary entries — dating from Pearl Harbor in 1941 to his death in 1951.

Vandenberg's papers over this ten-year span show how he progressed swiftly, but subtly, from isolationism to international cooperation by a responsible U. S. in the community of nations. They show how he became the intimate consultant of two Democratic Presidents and Secretaries of State Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes and Acheson; they tell of his frequent conferences with Robert Lovett; they tell of his cordial dislike for the Chicago *Tribune* because of that paper's bitter attacks upon him. "It is really amazing," Vandenberg remarked in a comment on *Tribune* editorials, "that responsible journalism can go to such extent in a vendetta." Since he was also being attacked by the Communist *Daily Worker,* his statesmanship enjoyed a rather complete validation, at least in a negative fashion.

The Senator respected both Dean Acheson and General George C. Marshall, but no one could consider him their errand boy in Congress. He disagreed sharply with U. S. policy in the Far East; but, and this was representative of his natural honesty, he confessed that the whole China problem was so "desperately complicated" that few people could make an intelligent judgment on what should or could have been done to prevent the Communist coup.

Senator Vandenberg was no creative genius in the field of foreign policy, but he had vision, remarkable conciliatory abilities, a shrewd sense of timing for his public statements and a passionate devotion to the common good of his country which overrode partisan considerations. On this record, which a number of his Republican colleagues derided as "me tooism," the people of Michigan re-elected Senator Vandenberg by a margin of more than 567.000 votes in his 1946, and last, campaign.

Congressmen and voters who think political action and criticism must be destructive in order to be tough, violent in order to be virile, ought to read and study *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg* and learn something about the statesmanship which flows from intelligence and honesty.

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British Socialism is a deceptive backdoor to tyranny; his quiet despair at the loss of initiative and vigor among his countrymen; at equality at the price of uniformity; at a Christian church of doctrinaire politics and doctrine-less religion.

These pieces are half-essay, half-story. All of them are written with distinction and closely woven wit and intelligence. As a whole, though, they are rather monotonous and this reviewer cannot help but feel that they were published in the United States for the sake of their politics rather than for their literary interest. They are the testimony of a tired conservative. A person who feels that politics is not opposed to hope and a certain optimism will find the book affecting but not persuasive.

Signs and Wonders

MIRACLES. By Jean Helle. Newman. $3.50.

By EMERIC A. LAWRENCE

OUR Sacred Scripture professor used to tell us never to multiply miracles. Try to find natural explanations for extraordinary events to your heart's content, he said. There would be more than enough inexplicable ones left over to prove the divinity of our Lord . . . and then some.

I think our old professor would like this book. It is at one and the same time a weighty affirmation of the fact that "God cannot leave the world to its own devices without intervening, an intervention that is the result of His love" and of the other equally important fact that faked miracles and revelations are, to put it mildly, wholly injurious to the cause of religion. The flocking to Necedah, Wisconsin, a few years ago, might very well indicate a hunger for the supernatural that is planted deep in the heart of man. But it might also indicate a much less healthy lusting after the sensational and the queer that in the end exposes both the Church and members of the Church to the scorn of unbelievers.

In the main part of the book, the author objectively presents the facts of Lourdes, Fatima, the cases of the Curé of Ars, Therese Neumann, Anne Catherine Emmerich, and Beauraing. He believes in the miraculous power of the Curé of Ars, in Lourdes, Fatima, and Anne Catherine Emmerich. He is doubtful about Therese Neumann and is emphatically condemnatory of the apparitions at Beauraing. You may not agree with these conclusions, but you will have to admit that they are the result of careful study. And in any case, M. Hellé is only exercising his privilege as a Catholic. "The obligation to believe in miracles is extremely restricted and, save for the miracles of Christ, the Christian has the right to refuse belief in all others." Miracles are the result of God's love. So is the Church. The Church thinks it is important to have an open mind about miracles and simultaneously to exercise extreme caution about them. In my opinion this book is an excellent exemplification of how to think with the Church in this important matter. The translation, by Lancelot C. Sheppard, is very good.

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